

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 DHA-02 TRSE-00 AID-05 IO-13 /078 W  
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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 2189

EO 11652GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, PL, CSCE  
SUBJ: STRONG PRESS REACTION TO ANNOUNCEMENT OF "MOVEMENT IN DEFENSE  
OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN"

REF: A. BRAINARD-SEKULSKI MEMCON, DECEMBER 16, 1977,  
B. WARSAW 1612, C. WARSAW 1954, D. MUNICH 0881

1. SUMMARY. WE HAVE OBTAINED A COPY OF "AN APPEAL TO POLISH  
SOCIETY," DATED MARCH 25, WHICH, COMBINED WITH THE SUBSEQUENT  
PUBLIC PRESS CONFERENCE ANNOUNCING THE FORMATION OF A "MOVEMENT IN  
DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN", HAS COMPLICATED THE  
PROBLEMS OF THE GIEREK LEADERSHIP IN HANDLING DOMESTIC CRITICS. AN  
UNUSUALLY QUICK AND AUTHORITATIVE RESPONSE WAS PROVIDED IN A TRYBUNA  
LUDU EDITORIAL PUBLISHED MARCH 28. ALTHOUGH SHARP IN TONE AND  
LANGUAGE, THE EDITORIAL IS NONETHELESS DEFENSIVE AND GIVES LITTLE  
INDICATION HOW THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WILL DEAL WITH  
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THIS NEW GROUPING OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS. END SUMMARY.

2. WE HAVE RECEIVED A COPY OF THE "APPEAL TO POLISH  
SOCIETY", DATED MARCH 25 AND SIGNED BY EIGHTEEN PEOPLE WHO CLAIM  
TO REPRESENT A "STRONG SOCIAL CURRENT" IN POLAND, RATHER THAN  
"ANY ORGANIZATION OR SOCIETY". THE APPEAL DESCRIBES THE  
TRADITIONS OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLAND, WITH

SPECIFIC EMPHASIS ON GOP ENDORSEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AGREEMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE SIGNERS DECLARE THEIR INTENTION TO: A) MONITOR RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLAND, B) PUBLICIZE INSTANCES WHEN HUMAN RIGHTS ARE VIOLATED, C) WORK FOR CHANGES IN POLISH LAW WHICH WOULD PROMOTE A "REAL AND UNBREAKABLE GUARANTEE" OF HUMAN RIGHTS; (D) PUBLICIZE THE NEED FOR ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO ADHERE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND, (E) COOPERATE WITH ALL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WORKING TO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS, PARTICULARLY THE UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE SIGNERS CALL FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF ALL POLISH CITIZENS IN SUPPLYING INFORMATION FOR THESE PURPOSES AND CONCLUDE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CAN BE PRESERVED ONLY WHEN EVERYONE ACTIVELY DEMANDS THAT THEY BE RESPECTED.

3. THE APPEAL IS SIGNED BY THREE MEMBERS OF THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE, ANTONI PAJDAK, FATHER JAN ZIEJA, AND WOJCIECH ZIEMBINSKI, AS WELL AS LEADERS OF THE "MOVEMENT OF POLISH DEMOCRATS", KAROL GLOGOWSKI AND ZBIGNIEW SEKULSKI (REF A). A COPY OF THE APPEAL IS BEING FORWARDED TO EUR/EE.

4. THE EDITOR-IN CHIEF OF TRYBUNA LUDU, JOZEF BARECKI, SHARPLY ATTACKED THE MOVEMENT IN AN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "ANTI-POLISH ACTIVITY--ANOTHER EPISODE" IN TRYBUNA LUDU OF MARCH 28, FOLLOWING A PRESS CONFERENCE ON MARCH 26 CALLED BY PAJDAK. BARECKI CHARACTERIZES THE SIGNERS AS "THE SAME LITTLE GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO FOR MONTHS HAVE BEEN AGITATING AND SUPPLYING ANTI-POLISH AMMUNITION TO ENEMY PROPAGANDA CENTERS ABROAD." HE SAYS THAT OTHER SIGNERS, PEOPLE "TOSSED ASIDE BY HISTORY", HAVE APPEARED OUT OF THE NATIONAL "WAX MUSEUM". BARECKI DEVOTES THE CONFIDENTIAL

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BULK OF HIS ARTICLE TO ALLEGED EXAMPLES OF HUMAN-RIGHTS VIOLATION IN THE WEST, AMONG THEM RACISM, SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION, CRIME, ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE, AND INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES WITH RADIO BROADCASTS. HE SPECIFICALLY SINGLES OUT THE US, CHARGING THAT "THE UNITED STATES SHOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN RIGHTS STARTING AT HOME." HE CONCLUDES THAT THE ESSENCE OF THE "APPEAL" IS "UNEQUIVOCALLY ANTI-POLISH."

5. TRYBUNA LUDU OF MARCH 28 ALSO CARRIED THE TEXT OF A SPEECH GIVEN BY PREMIER PIOTR JAROSZEWICZ AT CEREMONIES HONORING THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF GENERAL KAROL WALTER-SWIERCZEWSKI. JAROSZEWICZ DENIED THAT POLAND'S DIFFICULTIES WERE DUE TO ANY "STRUCTURAL DEFORMATIES". IN AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO DISSIDENT GROUPS, HE CHARGED THAT ONLY THE WEAK OF SPIRIT OR ENEMIES FAIL TO ACKNOWLEDGE POLISH ACCOMPLISHMENTS, ADDING, "UNFORTUNATELY, THERE ARE SUCH PEOPLE HERE, FEW BUT NOISY. SOME OF THEM SEEK SUPPORT IN CENTERS IN THE WEST INIMICAL TO POLAND...OUR SOCIETY EVALUATES SUCH PEOPLE IN THE WAY THEY DESERVE."

6. COMMENT. THE SWIFT POLISH PRESS ATTACK OF THE "MOVEMENT IN DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN" CONTRASTS WITH THE DELIBERATE, LOW-KEY RESPONSE OF OFFICIALS TO OTHER PROTEST MOVEMENTS FOLLOWING THE JUNE, 1976, EVENTS. WE, AND UNDOUBTEDLY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES, HAVE KNOWN AT LEAST SINCE DECEMBER OF THE FORMATION OF HUMAN-RIGHTS GROUPS IN A NUMBER OF POLISH CITIES, BUT THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NEW MOVEMENT WAS EVIDENTLY TIMED BY ITS FOUNDERS TO COINCIDE WITH SECRETARY VANCE'S ARRIVAL IN MOSCOW. THE OSTENSIBLE STIMULUS FOR THE APPEAL IS GOP RATIFICATION ON MARCH 3 OF THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMICS, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL RIGHTS (REF B).

7. AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE DEBATED BROADENING ITS MANDATE TO INCLUDE HUMAN-RIGHTS COMPLIANCE (REF C). RECENTLY, IT ABANDONED THIS CONCEPT AS INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ORIGINALLY STATED GOALS OF THE ORGANIZATION. A PART OF THE WDL, EAGER TO CONTINUE ACTIVITY AS THE JUNE EVENTS BECOME HISTORY, EVIDENTLY DECIDED TO JOIN WITH OTHER ACTIVISTS TO FORM THE NEW MOVEMENT. THE FORMAT OF THE FIRST APPEAL, LISTING ADDRESSES OF THE SIGNERS AND REQUESTING COOPERATION AND INFORMATION IS A PAGE OUT OF THE WDL BOOK.

8. THE RAPID AND HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIAL REACTION TO THE NEW DISSIDENT INITIATIVE COULD INDICATE NOTHING MORE THAN A DECISION TO FIGHT A PUBLICITY ORIENTED MOVEMENT WITH MORE PUBLICITY. ON THE OTHER HAND, PRESSURE IS BUILDING UP ON THE LEADERSHIP TO TAKE A HARDER STAND AGAINST DISSIDENTS. THE APPARENTLY SUDDEN VISIT OF GUSTAV HUSAK TO POLAND, AS ANNOUNCED IN A SHORT TRYBUNA LUDU ITEM ON MARCH 28, LED A POLISH JOURNALIST TO TELL AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP IS BEING PRESSURED BY ITS NEIGHBORS TO BEAR DOWN ON DISSIDENT VOICES. HIS VIEW IS THAT GIEREK DOES NOT WISH TO DO THIS, BUT MAY HAVE TO IF POLISH DISSIDENCE APPEARS TO FEED CRITICISM IN THE GDR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. END COMMENT.  
DAVIES

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## Message Attributes

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